1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

513 or skins. Their descendants, the *Caingang*, rest on large strips of bark or thick layers of palm fronds, but many groups have adopted platform beds.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 **Clothing.**—The wild *Caingang* go naked except for a belt—generally a skein of brilliant brown threads of the bark of the young *Philodendron root* or of palm twisted into a cord—and a square cloak (kurú) reserved for cold weather (fig. 58, *a*, *b*). This garment is passed under the right arm and fastened on the left shoulder so as to leave both arms free. Women wear a short skirt made of caraguatá fibers, secured around the waist by a wide belt of bark dyed a brilliant black. Both sexes wrap strips or strings of peccary hair or of bark around their ankles. Some *Caingang* tie up the foreskin of the penis and tuck it under their belts. On solemn occasions, *Caingang* women who were in contact with the *Guaraní* missions wore a narrow sleeveless shirt (tipoy) made of caraguatá fibers. Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 31) reproduces a feather apron which he describes as a women's garment. *Caingang* women are also said to have used a bark band passed between the legs and fastened to the belt.

301 **Ornaments.**—Some *Aweikoma-Caingang* of the State of Santa Catarina and of Rio Grande do Sul wear long rosin labrets like those of their *Guaraní* neighbors. Others have wooden lip sticks (generally made of pine knot) 2 inches (5 cm.) long "in the shape of a nail." This usage is responsible for the name *Botocudo* given to the *Caingang* in these States.

301 292 237 Feather ornaments were common among the *Caingang*, but except for the small "visors" of short toucan feathers worn around the forehead, they are rarely described in our sources. Debret (1941, pls. 11 and 12) has endeavored to represent a "Coroado" (*Caingang*) chief displaying all his ornaments. The chief wears a fan-shaped feather headdress attached to his nape. Long feather tassels are tied to his upper arm and under his knees. The *Caingang* of the State of Paraná don, on festive occasions, a feather cape, that covers them from head to foot (Koenigswald, 1908 b, p. 27). If this ornament actually was used by these Indians, it may well represent a survival of the feather cloaks of the ancient *Guaraní*.

301 [251] During dances, men and women often strew down over their heads. Necklaces of seeds, animal teeth, bird bones, claws, and hoofs were generally slung around the shoulders; those composed entirely of monkey teeth were especially valued. The *Caingang* of Guarapuava and of Misiones had necklaces of small shell disks (*Orthalicus phogera*). Some *Caingang* wore necklaces which weighed nearly 6 pounds!

302 Until recently, the *Caingang* wore a circular tonsure on top of the head; the fashion disappeared among adults after their contact with

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

the Whites, but was retained for small children. In recent times the Santa Catarina *Aweikoma-Caingang* of both sexes shaved the hair over the forehead and on top of the head (Paula Souza, 1924, p. 122).

The *Caingang* abhor body hair and always remove it. Combs consist of small wooden splinters passed through a slit in a piece of reed.

The *Caingang* seem to have used charcoal more than urucú for body painting. Among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* certain body paints belong to exogamic groups of people. The main motifs are dots, vertical lines, circles, and horizontal bars with vertical lines. The *Caingang* observed by Maniser (1930, p. 771) painted themselves only for funeral ceremonies. They regarded the black stripes on their chest as a protection against the ghosts. The pigment was charcoal mixed with honey and water or with the sticky sap of a creeper.

TRANSPORTATION

River navigation never was so important to the *Caingang* as to their *Tupi-Guaraní* neighbors. To cross a river, the *Aweikoma-Caingang* fell a tree on each side of the river and connect the intervening space with a tree trunk braced with poles fixed in the river bed.

Caingang women carry babies on their backs, often in a net, by means of bark tumplines. Among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* these straps are 4 inches (10 cm.) wide, woven of embira fibers. Knapsacks are suspended by a tumpline.

MANUFACTURES

Netting.—According to Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 49), the Paraná *Caingang* made net bags of caraguatá fibers.

Basketry.—*Caingang* carrying baskets have a hexagonal weave, and, like those of the *Tupí*, are elongated and rectangular knapsacks open on top and on the outer side, so that only the bottom and sides support the burden. Basketry containers woven from thin strips of split bamboo, frequently have stepped designs produced by alternating black and natural color strands (fig. 58, *e*). Some baskets, like those of the *Guayaná*, are made in two parts that telescope into each other.

The *Aweikoma* have three main types of baskets: large baskets for transportation of goods; small, impervious water or honey containers of Taquara mansa strips coated with wax; and small receptacles, similarly waterproofed, used as cups and dishes.

Spinning.—*Caingang* textiles are made with the fibers of the ortiga brava, probably a Bromelia. Women seize the leaves with leather-covered hands, cut them at the base, and remove all the thorns, then macerate the leaves in water, dry, and, finally, crush them. The fibers are then rolled into threads with the palm of the hand against the

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Kaingáng have attempted the same extension of their positive emotional relationships, but with little success. The supernatural, to them, is an embodiment of terrors; for it is burdened with portents of death, and no matter what benefits the Kaingáng derive from the supernatural, death always dominates their outlook. In *vayú*, divining by belching, the great preoccupation is escape from death; *kumbēdn*, divining by insects in the ashes of the dead, is completely devoted to omens of death; *kóplēgn*, divining with charcoal, is concerned with the location of animals that may be hunted and killed, or with the impending death of human beings, and the meteorological omens of rain, darkness, tempest, and flood are all portents of death.

The oral functions of biting, spitting, and blowing form part of supernatural curing techniques, but belching has been elevated to prophetic dignity. Through *vayú*, divining by belching, the Kaingáng obtain many important insights. Any adult who feels that he can divine by belching may take this function on himself, and he or she may be sought out and asked to drink an infusion of *matte*[26] so that his belches may give some information about the chances of death from the enemy, the hunting prospects in a given direction, or the whereabouts of a lost dog. The oracular belch always comes in answer to a request that is usually put to the practitioner in a form like this: "Belch to see whether, if I go to look for my wife and child, the enemy will see me." Then the practitioner drinks the infusion, and if he belches strongly it means "No"; and if weakly, "Yes."

Kumbēdn, divining by insects, is connected with the exogamous system which the Kaingáng say they possessed far back in ancient times. According to this tradition the Kaingáng were divided into five groups, with each of which was associated a set of personal names and a design with which its members used to paint their bodies.[27] The Kaingáng still use these designs, but their only functions for two hundred years or more have been to protect the wearers against *kuplēng* and supposedly to provide a point of reference for this system of divining by insects. To each group belong certain insects, the presence of which in funeral ashes betokened the impending death of a member of the group. A certain fly and a little butterfly called *toto*, for example, indicated the future death of those who use the dot pattern; and other insects, among them all the different varieties of bees, a wasp, and insects that the Indians call *ûpá* and *thathakumbēdn* foretold the death of someone who bore the line pattern.

In spite of the precise way in which the Kaingáng formulate it, they

[26] This is the familiar *yerba maté* or *matte* that grows wild in southeastern South America, particularly in Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay.

[27] See Appendix II for full explanation of this scheme.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

Appendix II

Body Paints and Kinship System[1]

THE THEORETICAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE, which has been largely so much cultural flotsam for at least two hundred years and probably much longer, divides the Kaingáng into five groups. To each group belongs a distinct body-paint design and a series of personal names. Throughout the six generations of the genealogies these names are repeated many times. All the people wearing the same design are *kóike hẽ*,[2] good people, to one another. Each design has a name that describes its objective character, and all those who wear it are grouped together under one of the personal names belonging to the group. Two marks, however, the disc and the horizontal bar with vertical lines, are not distinguished by one particular name. The scheme may be tabulated as follows:

Group name	*Design*	*Name of design*	*Translation*
Wanyekí *kóike hẽ*	●	*mévidn*	scattered all over
Klendó *kóike hẽ*	|	*kalébm*	coming down
Kainlé *kóike hẽ*	○	*kuikén*	in a ring
None	▥	*kakéng ku kalébm*	horizontal and coming down
None	●	*kaném*	placed there

[1] This discussion is abstracted from a study of genealogies of more than 300 individuals. They include the ancestors of all the people on the reservation today back to the great grandparents.

[2] *Kóike*, relative; *hẽ*, whole, serviceable.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

619 The names of the marks are simply descriptive. *Mevídn* refers to small 302 dots scattered all over the body, *kalébns* to vertical lines drawn downward, etc.

All people having the same mark are *kóikw hē* to one another, but in addition a man calls all the women having the same mark as he *yókzē*,[8] and these women call him *kóiks hē*. He calls all men with a different mark from his own *wamβ*,[4] and all women in a similar position he calls *plą*, sexual partner.[5] Women call all women with marks different from their own *wamβ*, and all men in a similar position are called *mbádn*, sexual partner.[5] Women with the same mark call each other *kóiks hē*. Men with the same mark call each other *kóiks hē*.

Even two hundred years ago a very large number of people had names from at least two groups, and a not inconsiderable number had names from three. Thus the groups are not separate. Within the obvious limits of historical investigation they have not formed the basis for any systematic organization. Marks do not descend systematically from parents or any other relatives to the younger generation, and there is no fixed system through which names are given to children. In general close relatives give the names of their own close relatives to newborn children. Individuals may have anywhere from one to eight names.

There was considerable disagreement among my informants as to the marks belonging to each person, and even though they might agree on his names they very often disagreed as to the marks proper to his names. Certain names, however, are associated by everyone with the same marks. Among the not inconsiderable number[6] of such names are the basic ones, Wanyekí, Klendó, and Kainlé.

The present-day Kaingáng say that people having the same marks cannot marry, but for two hundred years there has been absolutely no attempt to live up to the theory, and no feeling of shame is connected with marrying a person of the same mark. If the conversation happens to turn on the subject of the marks light jesting may arise in connection with some couple who both have the same marks. In general, however, the subject is sociosexually a dead issue.

Extensive checking shows that the marking scheme not only does not regulate marriage but also has nothing to do with the composition of hunting bands, the distribution of food and property, or the cremation of

[8] *yók*, formal prefix; *kē*, woman.

[4] *wa*, formal prefix; *mβ*, dative. It implies the giving of something to someone and may actually have something to do with the belief that in the beginning some groups gave some of their personal names to other groups that did not have enough.

[5] See kinship terms p. 178.

[6] Exactly 49 out of 193, i.e. 25 percent.

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941

SM3 Caingang SM3

Aweikoma

the dead.[7] The only function of the marks is magical. When a person dies all the people around him paint themselves with their marks in order to frighten the *kuplêng* away. "It sees them and becomes afraid and goes." A widowed person, a *thápgya*, paints himself with marks other than his own on his return from his period of isolation in order that the *kuplêng* may not recognize him. About five years before my arrival a number of people added the circle design to their other marks because when Kemblén died he told all the people to change their marks "so that the *kuplêng* would see it and go away."

A number of kinship usages are explained on the basis of the marks. These will be discussed in the section on the kinship system. It is only necessary to say here that all such explanations are purely theoretical and do not support kinship usage.

The Kinship System

(1) *pla*, wife; women with whom a man has had sexual relations; women with marks different from a man, and with whom, therefore, such relationships are "permissible."

(2) *nhlde*, husband; men with whom a woman has had sexual relations; men with marks different from a woman, and with whom, therefore, such relationships are "permissible."

(3) *yágu*, father; grandfather; all males much older than Ego;[8] men who have had relations with Ego's mother.

(4) *nyé*, mother; grandmother; all females much older than Ego; women who have had relations with Ego's father.

(5) *nyungnyéu*, all blood relatives excepting real parents and grandparents and grandparents' siblings and own children. All members of the same extended family. It is often used specifically for Ego's own brothers, sisters, and first cousins, and for anyone about Ego's own age. In this case the term becomes reciprocal. It may be used also for anyone a little older than Ego. All individuals having the same mark as Ego.

(6) *yuvi*, all people somewhat younger than Ego.

(7) *yi*, child; all people very much younger than Ego and the children of all the people with whom Ego has had sexual relations.

(8) *kla*, offspring. Tapirs and dogs have *kla*, but to speak of an animal's *yi* provokes laughter.

(9) *yénhld*, (plural) *yégnenhld*, all the blood relatives of No. 2 and No. 1. In a more limited sense, all the No. 5 of No. 2 and No. 1 with the

[7] See fn. 1, p. 175.

[8] Egnenpenem, speaking or spoken about.

Examples:

1	(1) to wash (the body)	*ŋaɹɲɛ'pe*
	(2) to command	*ŋaɹɲɛ'põ*
	(3) to do something to someone	*ŋaɹɲɛ'vi*
	(4) to waste time	*ŋaɹɲɛŋ'ndʒiŋ*
	(5) to recite the origin myths	*ŋaɹɲɛ'klwŋ*

1 and 3 must be related in some way to *kw'pe*, to wash (a part of the body or a single object); *nɛ'vi*, to do; to make. The text verb may be related to *ndv*, behind; for *ndv* sometimes terminates with a contact *t* when followed by *k*. In all of the cases in which *ndv* ends with a *t* it is followed by *k*. 4 may be related to *t/iŋ*, to grow old.

Certain verbs that begin with *ŋaɹ* omit it when they have direct objects:

(1) *kẽ ŋv ɔk tɔ ŋaɹka'vŋ mu*
then they to be frightened

They were frightened.

(2) *e ka'vŋ ma mu*
me frighten you

You frightened me.

(3) *'ɲɛlɛ tɛ 'plɜɹ tɔ mɛ 'ŋlɛ̃*
child charcoal distributive smear

kɯkɛ kẽ 't/i tɔk to ŋɛ̃
habitually and dark brown that about talk

kɯkɛ mu'hãŋv ŋaɹ't/ɜŋ ɲɛlɛ 't/ɜŋ
habitually to blacken child blacken

ŋa kw'kɛ ɔŋ mu
habitually they

[302] They smear the children with charcoal and then they are dark brown. When they talk about that they call it "to blacken". They say "The child is made black"; i. e. To smear a child with charcoal so that it is dark brown is called "to blacken". "The child is blackened" — that is what they say.

(4) *ti tɔ ŋaɹko ɣɔ'ŋŋi ŋa*
he coitus very

He fornicates a great deal.

[p. 204 (W)]

342 shelters holds several couples belonging to the same family. Each couple has its own fire in the center of the hut. These shelters, like the smaller ones, remain open laterally about one meter from the ground.

Inside the shelter, on either side, a broad earth shelf is laid to serve as a pillow.

[513] The floor of the hut is completely covered with fern leaves. The related couples lie down upon it to sleep side by side, their head on the elevated earth shelf and their feet toward the fire.

352 Weapons, baskets, clothes and utensils are hung from the ceiling of the shelter, and smaller objects are kept in the thatch.

291 The warriors' attire consists of several "loin cords" which they use as belts and which are ornaments rather than true breechcloths.

[283] These cords, called masêna, are braided in two varieties: dark, made of imbó liana bark fibers; and white, made of palm fibers.

The same palm fiber cords are also worn tightly fastened above the ankles.

The women's attire consists of an apron 1.60 meters in width and 1.50 meters in length.

It does not take them long to dress, for they simply fold the apron in two and wrap it around the waist.

[536] [531] These aprons are woven with the fiber of a special kind of wild nettle, and adorned with linear figures drawn preferably in red or blue.

302 Their hair is cut on the forehead in a semicircle which extends to the parietal region, where it is shaved at an acute angle toward the ear. In the back it is clipped above the shoulders. An even circle five centimeters in diameter is shaved on the crown and kept in good trim.

This hairdo is worn by all adults, male and female.

301 292 337 On festive occasions the warriors make headdresses with the feathers of a bird they call cocolina (Aquila?), which they connect by means of a network of thin [123] embira fibers. When decked in these ornaments, their head, face and chest painted with red and black stripes, they acquire a very impressive appearance.

On these formal occasions, the women and a few of the warriors tangle into their hair the delicate multicolored feathers of various small birds.

302 When important battles are to be waged, the warriors of this tribe have the custom of painting their face and trunk with broad strokes of a special black dye, meant to induce greater terror in their enemies. This is why several members of civilized communities attacked by these Indians maintained that they had "recognized" Negroes among them, alleged criminals who had joined the Indians to escape the law...

301 They also adorn themselves with necklaces, which prior to the time of peaceful contact they made with various seeds, the teeth and claws of animals, hooves of small deer and tapir, etc.
[77] In addition, they made use of all the objects they managed to acquire in the course of their raids, such as harness rings, buckles, strainers, buttons, inner pieces of clocks (which they invariably destroyed), coins, empty or full cartridges, etc. Suffice it to say that these necklaces, which often weigh as much as two or three kilograms, are veritable show cases of whatever has come into their hands.

411 The Botocudo bow, vôio, is always made of the tough and elastic cabiuna [the black rosewood, Dalbergia nigra--Translator] wood, catangára in the native tongue, which belongs to the same family (Leguminosae) as ipê. The latter was named pau d'arco [bow wood] by the Portuguese because it was used for this purpose by all the coastal tribes (Tupi, Guarani). The arrows are of three kinds: war arrows with metal blades; hunting arrows with tips of hard wood barbed on one side; and the short arrows [virotes] used exclusively to hunt birds, which kill by impact and inflict no open wound.

In addition to these weapons, they own impressive spears with metal blades measuring up to ten or twelve centimeters in width and thirty or forty in length, and shaped like the tip of the war arrows. The consummate skill with which they handle this formidable weapon is nearly incredible. They use it in a sort of fencing struggle by holding it with both hands in the center of the shaft. The tip of the shaft is used to parry and avert blows, and the blade to attack the adversary with lunges which cause instant death if not parried in time. Enemy heads have been severed at one blow. In the course of fencing bouts the Botocudo use downward as well as upward strokes, and leap constantly with great skill, to the front as well as to the rear.